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000 **ESSAYS IN**
ANTHROPOLOGY 000

Presented to
A. L. KROEBER

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[Title Page]



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ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. GAYTON

THE SPANISH MISSIONS situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commanders of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge.

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure." He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.¹ It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.² The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.³ To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested.

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated.

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. 19: California, Vol. 11, 1801-1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1905), 336.

² E. W. Gifford and W. Nybert Behrck, *Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley*, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1924.

³ C. Hart Merriam, *The Indian Population of California*, AA, n.s., 7:594-606, 1905; *Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827*, California Historical Society Quarterly, 23:29, April, 1924.

⁴ A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 78:498-501, 1925.

114 trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.²

The translation is reasonably accurate; common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *pass doble* with which he measured the Chincha village was probably the *pass* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *robler* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

THE DIARY

250 A DIARY which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the *rancherías* situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Misión Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Misión for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Misión San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [pozo] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

² Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

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Wednesday, 20.—Left the hole at daybreak and reached *Mision San Miguel* at 10 a.m. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from the *pua* 7 leagues]. At 1 p.m. Corporal Sebastian Rodriguez arrived, who brought from *Mision San Antonio* the 30 blankets, and 25 pairs of shoes which were divided among the sergeant, 3 corporals, and 28 soldiers who composed the troop. 68D

Reviewed the soldiers at arms, the munitions, and mounts, and in the afternoon rationed biscuits, dried meat, and pinole for 30 days.

Thursday, 21.—After having celebrated mass for a "Godspeed," which we all heard [by] the R. P. Fr. Juan Martin, titular minister of the *Mision San Miguel the Archangel*, I left with the troop and 30 Indians from this mission, and 11 from San Antonio, as aids. I took the route to the east, and arrived to sleep at a place called *Agua Dulce*, at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the east.

Friday, 22.—At 5:30 a.m. started toward the east; at 8 went due east, and at 4 p.m. reached the place called *Las Alamos Ultimas* [copy of Nov. 19: *Las Ultimas Alamos*], distant from *Agua Dulce* 15 leagues. The land is in hillocks, without pasture for the herd of horses, and the water a bit salty.

Saturday, 23.—The assisting Indians sent me notice that the two sloughs that there are before reaching the *Rancheria* of *Hubal* [Wowol] would be found full of water and very miry. Because of this I sent the sergeant with two soldiers and Indians on foot to investigate them, and to look for a ford, and [if] they found none to construct balsas without being noticed by the natives. I ordered one of them to return and give us information, in order for the troop to go on. [133]

Reviewed arms and munitions, and finding the swords of the soldiers Juan Martinez, Salvador Espinosa, and Santos Escamilla a bit hacked, and the reserve cartridges of Juan Amenquita in bad condition, I immediately admonished them to put them to good use, and to put them in condition.

At 4 p.m. I received information from the sergeant: that failing to find a crossing they were making balsas. After breaking camp and journeying 4 leagues to the east, I arrived at the summit of the last hill before entering the great plain of the tulares. The view from south to north is beautiful, for its end can not be seen, with its lakes, swamps, and groves of trees. And from east to west, I calculate its width, from this hill to the foot of the knowy range of mountains called *Sierra Nevada*, to be 28 to 30 leagues. We continued traveling eastward until 10 at night, when we reached the first slough. 133

This was crossed on balsas, the horses swimming, and with considerable trouble because of its stickiness and obstructions. Since it would be necessary to cross another like it in the vicinity of the *Rancheria* of *Hubal*, I dispatched four confidants ahead to sound out the situation, and to obtain some balsas which they told me the natives had. Continued traveling toward it. [Copy of Nov. 19: Followed it to the east and north until 1 a.m.] 68D

Sunday, 24.—At 1 a.m. one of those spies I had sent to reconnoiter returned with the news that no balsas had been found, and that the natives had broken camp and withdrawn. I reached the slough at 3 a.m. to find it full as I had been told. Balsas were constructed and the troop passed. I noted the location

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alamos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

648 At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off:
747 I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentle Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tularas and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

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whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tule.

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the *Ranheria* of Buena Vista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the *Ranheria* of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tuleares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from *Mision San Luis* [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseno Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the *Ranheria* of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, *Liberata*, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequency has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the *Presidio*, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

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counted me with ~~some~~ fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with arrows which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

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Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 28] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives *Agua* (the present *Alpamig?*) I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

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Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the apyñam. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and *Agua* by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose *rancheria* was found farther in, and the people at the flouts at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the *rancheria*, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the *rancheria* of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tacho. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this *rancheria* must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mision Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this *rancheria*] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the *Rancheria* of Chojnoeko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . Their dialect is like that of Tukul.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joaspa]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

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[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joaspa, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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Having had news from the Choynocoos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joaspa. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynocoos to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joaspa, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choynoco.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

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Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joaspa, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynece, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischesea. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischesea. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischesea I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischesea nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (escortedad) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

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After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choynece who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischesea. Thus neither their captain Jompa nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jompa and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joaspa promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648
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They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [43]

At 12 that day a captain from the *Rancheria* of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevada, 4 captains from a *rancheria* named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomuk], Gilmosta, Ogmoot, and Gubtos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joaspa had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the *Chichas*, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574]
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[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joaspa, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (1, *en ambas bandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222]
[33]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joaspa, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*componc*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by *rancherias*. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer. 769
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769 ment, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*berrendos*) that there are in abund-
 262 dence, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets,
 and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave
 some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain
 them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in
 good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
 [887] at 6 p.m., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
 [361] the Chichas 8 leagues. In this rancheria [of Telame] I found 14 old women.
 [497] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*]
 to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame
 is distant from Chicha nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 Saturday, 30.—At 5 a.m. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
 797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
 [133] northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
 sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we
 got out at 2 p.m. and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached
 the place of La Cruz at 4 p.m., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians
 of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their
 rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part
 of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained
 wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from
 the Indians of Soledad.

[361] Sunday, 31.—After having told the romary I left at 7 a.m. for Tontache,
 leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the
 west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of
 Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
 [162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely
 young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men,
 old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San
 Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of
 the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all
 either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian
 in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my
 leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant
 Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as
 the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the
 fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to
 their relatives. At about 12 p.m. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 p.m.
 The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving
 Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this
 country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he
 was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [33]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

648 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to
797 know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Rancheria Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiyya] had returned from the fiesta at Chisehas which Joaspa had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their rancheria where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherias to meet me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

622 At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiemar, Goolill, Cullaa, and Chilaxaa. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo rezo]. After having caught sufficient large fish [mojarras], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their rancheria or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were miming, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsam to reach the rancheria. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives!], I could not go on to the rancharia, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 p.m. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto rancharia. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balua of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 a.m. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several. I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 a.m. I left for the Rancharia of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their rancharia is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With acorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tija*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

¹ This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Eglert Schenck, *Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region*, UC-PAAH 23:129, 1928.

797 tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilehi [Wimilehi]; Guchita [copy of Nov.
 648 19: Guchalta], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalno, captain of
 [622] Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great
 [201] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to
 punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once
 put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied
 that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off im-
 mediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica,
 Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi
 two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain
 already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me be-
 fore I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to
 the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all
 of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to
 inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them
 to do otherwise[?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait
 an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there
 would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and
 questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have
 thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me
 fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to re-
 turn, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the rancharía I had taken the precaution to see that the
 [162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up,
 knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust
 men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden.
 Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for
 some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west
 [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 p.m. . . . It is
 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I
 camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against
 Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 a.m. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came
 out of the Hoblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San
 Pablo, where I arrived at 4 p.m. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept
 [133] [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is
 without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The
 water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men
 supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the
 Notontos, that although most of the Gumilehis have joined with them in the
 marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I
 ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 p.m. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648
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Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty, and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 p.m., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his *ranchería*; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to *Misión San Miguel* have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 a.m., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 p.m. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the *ranchería* of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under?] captain Chegiec already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the *Misión San Juan*, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for their and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 p.m. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 p.m. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 a.m. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 a.m., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 p.m. we halted in a bend of the 000

river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Rancharia of Chaneeches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tuleares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recovered?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Rancharia Caneeche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [abujeros] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the Chineches and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Chineches [copy of Nov. 19: Chaneeches] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherias to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said rancharia, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy OVD of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancharia. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneeche rancharia] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [bolsa pie] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarcasmos* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [1. *entrar on parte arredillados*] as far as the rancharia, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tule, their ends bent [1. *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancharia of Chineeche all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Marced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tule and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [1. *oriental*; copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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tians sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [*?, de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Misiones Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 p.m. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 a.m. of
○○○ Thursday, 11.—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaija. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 p.m., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 p.m. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 a.m. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 p.m. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

797 Saturday, 13.—At 5 a.m. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 p.m. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 p.m. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 a.m. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 p.m., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

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Tuesday, 16.—Left said Rancho at 9 A.M. Having put the cavalry in camp, I left for the Presidio of Monterey where I arrived at 12:30 of the day. I reported with the present diary to the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Visante de Bola.

Monterey, 16th of November, 1819

José M. ESTUDILLO

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.